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/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb,
621 manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" pos-
632 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
423 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

/152 cont./

*634 [184] III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^{c}," most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/ in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of "taqbilt."

The jem^{c}a of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^{c}" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats, that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external activity. Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of another energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

*634 166 609

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
•609 of a neighboring fraction.

A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
632 four "mouda^{c}" that gather together in all the population of about
*634 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït ^{c}Abdallah, Aït Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the Aït Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

609 /245 cont./

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[344] I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-

[485] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.

*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the

[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for

609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of

57 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that

556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the

563 latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which

[672] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage

[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.

609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the

641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the

563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-

166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or

*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of

563 origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./
609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
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1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass
[619] into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

404 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he
*634 has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arba^{c}in, to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arba^{c}in to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "^{c}ar" to the jema^{c}a in the form of a lump of
[154] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wariyaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536).

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances,

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539).

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TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*talmat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

571 609 574 754 171 192

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from

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